

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05 PER-01 /095 W  
-----017493 141111Z /11

R 131045Z JUL UP  
FM AMEMBASSY LOME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4475  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY KINSAHSA  
AMCONSUL LUBUMBASHI  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
UMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU 1405  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LOME 2289

GENEVA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE  
DEPT FOR THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

EO 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PEPR TO  
SUBJ: FAREWELL INTERVIEW WITH TOGO'S PRESIDENT EYADEMA

1. INTRODUCTION: AT PRESIDENT GNASSINGBE EYADEMA'S REQUEST,  
I FLEW NORTH IN HIS AIRPLANE TO JOIN HIM IN HIS VILLAGE ON  
JULY 11 TO WITNESS THE FINALS OF THE INITIATION WRESTLING  
COMPETITIONS OF HIS KABYE TRIBE. WE SAT TOGETHER FOR FIVE  
HOURS OF THE MATCHES AND HAD OPPORTUNITIES TO CHAT DURING  
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THIS PERIOD. AFTERWARDS, HE RECEIVED ME IN PRIVATE  
INTERVIEW, AND WE THEN HAD LUNCH. THE FOLLOWING OSERVATIONS  
REFLECT THE PRESIDENT'S INFORMAL AND RELAXED IMPRESSIONS.  
THE TOPICS ARE NOTED.

2. THE QUESTION OF MY SUCCESSOR: THE PRESIDENT SAID  
AT ONE POINT THAT HE HAD OBSERVED THAT A SUCCESSOR HAD NOT

YET BEEN NAMED. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT MEANT THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WAS TAKING REAL CARE TO SELECT A PERSON WHO WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IN TOGO AT THIS IMPORTANT POINT IN THE HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA. HE SAID THAT, RIGHTLY OR WRONG, HE HAD HAD THE IMPRESSION IN THE PAST THAT AMERICAN AMBASSADORS HAD NOT ALWAYS BEEN OBJECTIVE IN THEIR REPORTS ON HIM AND ON TOGO. HE SAID THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN AFRICA AT THIS TIME IS THAT THEY BE OBJECTIVE AND CALL THE SHOTS AS THEY ARE RATHER THAN ADDING PERSONAL BIAS ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. EYADEMA SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT I WOULD KEEP THIS IN MIND IN MY NEW JOB IN PERSONNEL AND TRY TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATION IN AFRICA BE KEPT AS HIGH AS POSSIBLE. I SAID I WOULD DO MY BEST.

3. GHANA: I ASKED THE PRESIDENT ABOUT REPORTS THAT A SUMMIT HAD BEEN PLANNED IN ACCRA PRIOR TO ACHEAMPONG'S FALL. HE SAID THIS WAS SO, AND THE PARTICIPANTS WERE TO HAVE BEEN GUINEA'S SEKOU TOURE, UPPER VOLTA'S LAMIZANA, HIMSELF AND ACHEAMPONG. HE SAID THAT ACHEAMPONG HAD ORIGINALLY PROPOSED THE IDEA AND THAT SEKOU TOURE HAD BEEN A USEFUL GO-BETWEEN. EYADEMA SAID THAT THE PROJECT WAS DEAD FOR THE TIME BEING WHILE EVERYONE WATCHED TO SEE THAT THE NEW GHANA LEADERSHIP LOOKED LIKE. HE SAID THAT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WAS FUNDAMENTALLY A CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINUATION OF THE SMC. I OBSERVED THAT REPORTS I HAD ON LTC AKUFFO HAD BEEN QUITE GOOD. AKUFFO IS SAID TO BE A MAN CAPABLE OF WORKING WITH CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP, AND A MAN TUGH ENOUGH TO IMPOSE RULES AND STICK TO THEM. EYADEMA LOOKED AT ME SOMEWHAT ARCHLY AND SAID THAT "A MAN WHO FOLLOWS ORDERS IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM A MAN WHO GIVES ORDERS."

4. TOGOLAND: I ASKED THE PRESIDENT WHAT HE THOUGHT PROSPECTS FOR RECONCILIATION WITH GHANA WERE. HE SAID AS LONG AS THE TOGOLAND ISSUE EXISTS RELATIONS WILL NEVER BE REALLY GOOD. EYADEMA NOTED THAT THE GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT THOUGHT THAT HE WAS STIRRING THIS ISSUE UP OR THAT HE WAS SOME SORT OF RADICAL ON THE ISSUE. HE SAID HE DECIDEDLY WAS NOT, BUT THAT HE IS SUBJECT TO SIGNIFICANT PRESSURE FROM THE EWES IN TOGO AND THE EWES IN GHANA WHO ACCUSE HIM OF BEING "SOFT" ON TOGOLAND BECAUSE HE IS A NORTHERNER. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE WAS CAUGHT BETWEEN UNACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVES. HE SAID, "I DIDN'T MAKE THIS ISSUE; IT WAS HERE WHEN I GOT HERE." I ASKED HIM HOW THE TOGOLAND PROBLEM MIGHT BE RESOLVED. HE THOUGHT FOR A BIT AND SAID, "SOME PROBLEMS JUST DON'T

GO AWAY, YOU JUST HAVE TO LIVE WITH THEM."

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LOME 2289

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DEPT FOR DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

5. MAURITANIA: PRESIDENT EYADEMA ASKED ME WHAT THE LATEST INFORMATION ON MAURITANIA WAS. I TOLD HIM THAT I HAD LISTENED TO THE RADIO EARLIER IN THE MORNING, AND THE SITUATION SEEMED TO STILL BE UNCLEAR. EYADEMA SAID IT WAS A GREAT SHAME THAT OULD DADDAH HAD FALLEN BECAUSE HE WAS ONE OF THE FATHERS OF MODERN AFRICA. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET A CLEAR FIX ON THE POLITICAL COLORATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, BUT HE HOPED EARNESTLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE PRO COMMUNIST.,

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6. INSTRUCTIONS ON RHODESIA, ZIONISM-RACISM LINK, THE MIDDLE EAST AND NAMIBIA: RE STATE 141940 AND STATE 163024, I TOOK OPPORTUNITIES DURING THE CONVERSATION TO STATE US POSITIONS ON THE FOREGOING TOPICS. PRESIDENT EYADEMA SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE US POSITIONS AND WOULD KEEP THEM IN MIND DURING THE OAU SUMMIT.

7. SHABA (THE FRENCH CONNECTION): DRAWING UPON LUBUMBASHI 816, I REVIEWED WHAT I KNEW OF THE SITUATION IN SHABA AND ASKED THE PRESIDENT IF HIS INFORMATION WAS SIMILAR. HE SAID IT WAS. FURTHER, HE SAID THAT JOURNIAC, ELYSEE ADVISER ON AFRICA TO PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING, HAD JUST MADE A QUICK VISIT TO TOGO TO DISCUSS THE RESUPPLY AND MAINTENANCE OF THE TOGOLESE CONTINGENT IN SHABA. A FRENCH AIRCRAFT WAS SUPPOSED TO DELIVER SUPPLIES TO THE TOGOLESE ON JULY 12-13. I ASKED THE PRESIDENT HOW FRENCH PLANS WERE PROCEEDING TO AIRLIFT ANOTHER COMPANY OF TOGOLESE TROOPS TO SHANA. HE SAID HE DIDN'T UNDERSTAND THE COMPLICATONS BETWEEN THE US AND FRANCE ON THIS SUBJECT, BUT HE HAD CAISED THE SUBJECT WITH JOURNIAC. (IN A CONVERSATION LATER WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, I LEARNED THAT JOURNIAC APPEARS TO HAVE PROMISED EYADEMA TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY AIRLIFT).

8. OAU KHARTOUM MEETING: PRESIDENT EYADEMA COMMENTED THAT THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT WAS GOING TO BE "LIVELY." HOWEVER, HE HAD INSTRUCTED FOREIGN MINISTER KODJO TO FIGHT VIGOROUSLY FOR THE IDEA OF A CLOSED DOOR SESSION WHICH WOULD BE ATTENDED ONLY BE HEADS OF STATE AND WOULD NOT BE A DEBATINV SOCIETY IN WHICH INDIVIDUALS OR GOVERNMENTS COULD BE ATTACKED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SHABA QUESTION COULD DIVIDE THE OAU INTO TWO CAMPS UNLESS IT WERE CAREFULLY HANDLED.

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9. OAU SECRETARY GENERAL ELECTION: I ASKED THE PRESIDENT WHAT HE THOUGHT THE PROSPECTS WERE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER KODJO TO BE OME THE NEW OAU SECRETARY GENERAL. HE LAUGHED AND SAID THAT HE HAD NOT REALLY WANTED KODJO TO RUN FOR THIS OFFICE BECAUSE THERE IS ENOUGH WORK FOR HIM TO DO IN TOGOLESE DIPLOMACY, BUT HE HAD BEEN PERSUADED TO RELEASE THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR THIS EFFORT BY THE NIGEFIANS. PRESIDENT EYADEMA SAID HE REALLY DIDN'T KNOW THAT KODJO'S PROSPECTS WERE BECAUSE, AGAIN, THE SHABA QUESTION AND THE FACT THAT TOGO HAD COME OUT FOUR SQUARE WITH THE WEST AND HAD SENT TROOPS TO SHABA WOULD MAKE KODJO'S CHANCES TO BECOME OAU SECRETART GENERAL

VERY DIFFICULT.

10. COMMUNICATIONS WITH US LEADERSHIP: THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE WAS THINKING OF INITIATING A PERIODIC EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER TO SHARE HIS VIEWS ON ISSUES AFFECTING AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE. I SAID I THOUGHT THIS WAS A GOOD IDEA.

11. COMMENT: I SHALL BE SENDING BY SEPARATE MESSAGE OBSERVATIONS ON MY TOUR IN TOGO. SUFFICE IT TO SAY IN THIS COMMUNICATION THAT GNASSINGBE EYADEMA IS A VITAL, YOUNG MAN WHO, AFTER 11 YEARS OF RULE, IS COMFORTABLE IN POWER AND WELL KNOWN TO AND APPARENTLY RESPECTED BY HIS PEERS. THE FRENCH APPEAR TO BE VIEWING HIM AS A POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR TO SENEGAL'S SENGHOR AND IVORY COAST'S HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AS AN ALLY ON THE CONTINENT. IN CONTRAST TO HIS INTIMATE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE FRENCH LEADERSHIP, IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT HE HAS MET NO SENIOR AMERICANS OTHER THAN AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN HIS 11 YEARS IN POWER.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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